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QUESTION OF THE REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

Comprehensive report of the Secretary-General prepared in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 1990/18

Addendum

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I. COMMENTS RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

[21 January 1991]
[Original: English]

1. Document E/CN.4/1990/9, the report of the Secretary-General on the Global Consultation on the Right to Development as a Human Right, introduces the concept of human rights as a fundamental aspect of development. Paragraph 16 of Part I states "that development in the sense of the Declaration is much more than continuous increases in the leading economic indicators. Development is a many-faceted concept which encompasses the whole human being in all the aspects of her or his basic rights - be they economic, social or cultural or civil and political ...". This declaration is innocuous in itself. What is disturbing, however, is the attempt, in paragraphs 19 to 23, to use development assistance to apply political pressure for the observance of human rights. In paragraph 19, for instance, it is suggested that "ways must be found of employing the human rights standards and implementation machinery to confront and overcome malnutrition, extreme poverty, deaths of infant children, lack of education and vocational training and the long list of other problems". And in paragraph 21 there is an explicit intention to foster "the intervention of human rights elements into the conceptual and strategic planning on development ...".

2. Aid programmes are already affected by environmental considerations and issues concerning the alleviation of poverty. To introduce another element, especially an element as emotive as human rights, could complicate aid planning and subject bilateral and even multilateral cooperation to open manipulation and political pressures. Human Rights pressure groups are often impractical and idealistic. It would be dangerous to introduce such an emotive element as human rights into international aid policies, especially where social and political circumstances differ so widely from country to country.

3. It is true that no country that can afford to give assistance to developing countries should permit the resources it makes available to be used against the inhabitants of the country it seeks to assist. Donor countries would have the right to refuse to assist countries which openly breach human rights - such as imprisonment of citizens without trial. But the fact that poverty exists in a country is not to be taken as proof that breaches of human rights have occurred. Judgement on such an issue must be very deliberate, very carefully made and fully substantiated by facts.

4. It seems to us that developing countries should resist the attempt to introduce this new element which could further constrain the flow of aid and expose them to political pressures to live up to idealistic standards of human rights - which might be difficult to sustain at their present level of development.

YUGOSLAVIA

[26 November 1990]
[Original: English]

5. Yugoslavia considers the following elements of resolution 1990/18 as the basis of approach in the present phase of the realization of the right to development:

(a) The Commission has entered a new phase in its consideration of this subject, in which the question of implementation is of central importance (fourth preambular paragraph);

(b) The Commission has reaffirmed the need for coordinated action and for the establishment of an evaluating mechanism for ensuring the promotion of the right to development, i.e. the principles contained in the Declaration on the Right to Development (fifth preambular paragraph and operative para. 4).

Therefore, resolution 1990/18 clearly demonstrates that future action will be focused on coordinated activity aimed at the implementation of the substance of the Declaration on the Right to Development, and that it is necessary to set up an adequate mechanism for the accomplishment of this task.

6. The Global Consultation on the Right to Development as a Human Right, held from 8 to 12 January 1990 in Geneva, constitutes a valuable contribution to the efforts aimed at initiating the activities referred to in resolution 1990/18. Yugoslavia supports the conclusions and recommendations emerging from the consultation in their entirety (E/CN.4/1990/9).

7. We particularly wish to emphasize the relevance of the conclusions related to the criteria for the assessment of the achieved progress in implementing the right to development (E/CN.4/1990/9, Part III, paras. 36-46). We support the proposal that the criteria for the assessment of progress in the realization of the right to development may be grouped, as suggested at the Global Consultation, as follows:

(a) Conditions of life, including the satisfaction of basic material needs as well as individual freedom and security;

(b) Conditions of work, including equal opportunities for employment, accessibility and quality of work, participation in management;

(c) Equality of access to resources and to the results of development; and

(d) Participation, including democratically organized processes of political decision-making.

8. Further elaboration and implementation of the above-mentioned criteria will require special attention to be devoted to the question of indicators, i.e. quantifiable facts reflecting the situation in the society with respect to each particular criterion. In this connection, it is necessary to emphasize that this does not imply direct use of statistical data in reviewing

the implementation of human rights, but rather an indication of the actual situation in those fields of human and social activity which are crucial for the realization of the right to development, and therefore of other human rights as well.

9. The use of indicators will not require entirely new activities, since it will be possible to make use of the existing results of the work on indicators within other parts of the United Nations system. Consideration of the realization of the right to development is not possible without the use of indicators applied in the field of social development, in specialized agencies of the United Nations, etc. Therefore, it is a matter of improving coordination rather than initiating completely new activities.

10. In the context of priorities of action in the sphere of the realization of the right to development thus conceived, we support the recommendations of the Global Consultation concerning further activities on the national and international levels. We also support the recommendation that the Centre for Human Rights should be accorded the coordinating role in the implementation of the Declaration on the Right to Development, and that adequate decisions should be adopted with the effect of promoting the Centre and appointing full-time specialists - officers of the Centre entrusted with tasks in this domain (E/CN.4/1990/9, Part III, para. 57).

11. We particularly support the recommendation of the Global Consultation (para. 60) that the Secretary-General should appoint a high-level committee of independent experts with relevant direct experience in human rights and development, and serving in their personal capacities, to report annually to the General Assembly, through the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council, on progress made in the implementation of the Declaration. The Committee's assessments would be based on information submitted by Governments and intergovernmental bodies, and on the information of non-governmental organizations, research institutes, etc.

12. The Government of Yugoslavia is of the opinion that the time has come to proceed with the adoption of the specific conclusions by the competent bodies of the United Nations, in order to establish a mechanism for monitoring the implementation of the Declaration on the Right to Development, thus enabling the entire body of action related to the right to development to move forward towards the concretization of tasks in the realization of this right.

II. COMMENTS FROM UNITED NATIONS BODIES AND ORGANS, AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

A. United Nations bodies

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DISASTER RELIEF CO-ORDINATOR (UNDRO)

[21 November 1990]
[Original: English]

13. In examining the issue of the realization of the right to development, particular attention should also be paid to the numerous linkages between disaster mitigation/response and the overall development process.

14. In the mid-1970s, intervention in disasters was redefined by a number of humanitarian organizations as a human rights issue. Disaster aid could be seen in this context as a right of the poor people in disaster-prone areas of developing countries, an extension of their right to survive and the basic rights guaranteed under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

15. If increased emphasis is to be placed on disasters and their impact on the development process, the focus should equally be placed on pre-disaster planning and disaster mitigation. It is clear that disasters not only limit but actually set back development. The longer-term impact associated with increased health hazards, decreased agricultural production, loss of natural resources, interrupted economic development and a lack of confidence in future development far outweigh the tangible losses at the time of the disaster.

16. A high level of environmental alteration often increases vulnerability to disasters (for example, deforestation exacerbates floods, altering steep slopes causes landslides, etc.). Thus, unless there is a socio-political will and a means to direct development in a way that enhances collective security, development can increase vulnerability.

17. Efforts to reduce the impacts of natural disasters will gain far wider acceptance if they are perceived as a means to protect economic development and improve living standards rather than to mitigate some hypothetical, localized and infrequent event.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT (UNCTAD)

[16 November 1990]
[Original: English]

18. The Second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) (Paris, 3-14 September 1990) adopted a Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the 1990s, accompanied by a political declaration (A/CONF.147/Misc.9 and Corr.1).

19. One of the priority areas defined in the Declaration was the following:

> "To develop human resources, by making populations, both men and women, the actors and beneficiaries of development, by respecting human rights and social justice, and by applying effective population, health, education, training and employment policies ...".

20. Moreover, the following paragraphs, from chapter IV of the Programme of Action, are of direct relevance to paragraphs 149-150 of the Report of the Secretary-General on the Global Consultation on the Right to Development:

> "64. Development should be human-centred and broadly based, offering equal opportunities to all people, both women and men, to participate fully and freely in economic, social, cultural and political activities. All countries should, therefore, broaden popular participation in the development process and ensure the full utilization of human resources and potential. Respect for human rights, individually and as a group, as enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, constitutes a universal obligation and stimulates the creativity, innovation and initiative necessary for socio-economic development. Its fulfilment, along with democratization and observance of the rule of law, is a part of the process of development. Each particular country may therefore freely determine its own ways of advancing towards this established objective. It also entails a realization that any progress in this direction should be encouraged and supported by the international community, through development cooperation efforts among development partners.
>
> 65. It is important to promote measures aimed at increasing the motivation and the opportunities of all social and economic actors, public as well as private, to participate fully in the development process of the LDCs. Participatory development should be enhanced through, inter alia, measures aimed at developing and improving institutional capabilities and efficiency in public administration, ensuring an optimal balance between the public and private sectors (enterprises, cooperative sector, informal sector) in order to foster productive activties, allowing natural talents to develop and flourish, fully integrating women into the development process, and encouraging bona fide NGOs, particularly the indigenous ones and grass-roots organizations, in their local, community-based initiatives."

21. Futhermore, in paragraph 72 of the Programme of Action, the least developed countries are invited to ratify and implement all United Nations conventions against all forms of discrimination towards women. Likewise, in paragraph 76, LDCs are invited to ratify and implement the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR)

[23 November 1990]
[Original: English]

22. The majority of the world's 15 million refugees are from developing countries and are to be found in developing countries, many of them among the world's least developed. As refugees stream across frontiers, they flee persecution, the violation of their human rights and a variety of political, military and economic disasters, all of which relate in one way or another to the crisis of underdevelopment.

23. The international community began to be aware of this fact as early as 1979, when, at the Pan African Conference on the Situation of Refugees in Africa, the concept of refugee aid linked to development assistance started to be explored. Since the early 1980s, when UNHCR was confronted with prolonged assistance programmes in the case of large-scale refugee situations in various parts of the world, the Office has been seeking the cooperation of development agencies. This strategy has been aimed, inter alia, at compensating for the ecological and infrastructural damage caused by the presence of refugees in host countries. It has also sought to facilitate, wherever possible, the integration of refugees into host communities.

24. Another major element in this new thinking has been to assure solutions to the refugee problem, such as voluntary repatriation, by linking these solutions with development initiatives. Accordingly, in 1988, UNHCR's Executive Committee in its conclusions on solutions and protection underlined the importance of development cooperation in both its curative and preventive aspects.

25. Indeed, development could significantly aid the resolution of refugee problems and the prevention of refugee exoduses by mitigating their root causes so that people do not have to leave. Development, understood to encompass social development as well as economic development, could ensure that refugee solutions do not unravel. It could also avoid the situation in which a refugee who has returned home voluntarily is forced to leave again because of poverty or starvation.

26. Development, therefore, is clearly relevant across the gamut of the refugee problem from causes through to its resolution and can seriously influence the effectiveness of the international community's handling of the problem.

B. United Nations organs

COMMITTEE ON THE EXERCISE OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

[28 January 1991]
[Original: English]

27. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has repeatedly expressed its grave concern that continued military occupation of the Palestinian territory and the constraints placed by Israel, the occupying Power, on Palestinian economic, social and political life violated the right to development of the Palestinian people. In its report submitted to the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session, the Committee has once again called on the international community to "take all possible measures to halt the rapid deterioration in the living conditions of the Palestinian people and to develop socio-economic structures that will lead to the genuine development of the occupied Palestinian territory in preparation for independent nationhood" (A/45/35, para. 29).

28. The question of how to ensure the right to development of the Palestinian people is of concern to a great many agencies and bodies of the United Nations family, whose work is summarized annually in the report submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly under the item "Report of the Economic and Social Council - Assistance to the Palestinian people". The latest such report was issued in document A/45/503.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

[4 December 1990]
[Original: English]

29. The Special Committee against Apartheid draws attention to chapters II and III of their annual report, as well as to its conclusions and recommendations, contained in document A/45/22.

C. Specialized agencies

WORLD BANK

[15 February 1991]
[Original: English]

30. The activities of the Bank are limited by its Articles of Agreement to the promotion of economic development. We recognize, however, that economic development is inextricably linked to human and social development and our work pertaining to the alleviation of poverty and in the fields of health, nutrition, family planning, education, children and women focuses on these aspects of development. The Bank further draws attention particularly to the 1990 World Development Report which concentrated on the fundamental issue of the eradication of poverty.

III. COMMENTS FROM NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF JURISTS

INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS AND THE LIBERATION OF PEOPLES

(Joint statement)

[17 December 1990]
[Original: Spanish]

31. The worldwide integration of financial markets and the new technologies employed in them (use of computers and electronics for gathering and transmitting information and for capital transfers) have enabled them to escape national legislative controls. This crucial component of the world economy (the value of financial flows is currently five times that of flows of goods) thus lacks any regulatory framework. The international community should therefore devise rules to regulate international financial operations. As a first step, given the negative impact of some international financial activities on the realization of the right to development, the General Assembly should be urged to declare practices and policies of States, institutions and individuals which impede or frustrate the realization of the right to development, including usury, illegal currency transactions, deregulation of the international monetary system and, in general, the misuse of economic power and of international financial machinery to obtain concessions, advantages or disproportionate benefits at the expense of third parties to be international crimes.

32. Grave environmental and ecological damage are jeopardizing the future of present generations and the very existence of future generations. The General Assembly should therefore be urged to declare serious environmental damage caused deliberately or resulting from errors or omissions committed by fault or negligence to be international crimes.

33. An optional protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, similar to the Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, should be drawn up and adopted.

34. States should be urged to apply strictly their national legislation prohibiting such activities as misappropriation of public funds, dealings incompatible with the duties of public officials, illicit accumulation of wealth by public officials, breaches of currency regulations, etc., or to enact such legislation where it is lacking. States should also be urged to review the legitimacy of contracts giving rise to foreign debt, since many of them contain defects with regard to consent and unlawful provisions (usurious rates of interest, waiver of national jurisdiction by the debtor for litigious questions, etc.) and also to consider the possibility of invoking the principle of rebus sic stantibus (the obligation is extinguished and the debtor is released when performance of the obligation has become impossible, very costly or essentially different from what it was when the obligation was entered into).

2. INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION (IPPF)

[6 November 1990]
[Original: English]

35. At IPPF, we were impressed to see that the report contained the highlights of the discussion on women held during the Consultation. However, we feel that not enough focus was placed in the recommendations or in the resolution on the importance of personal development of women - half of the world's population - and its impact on the rate of development.

36. In this, the role of reproductive rights - as expressed in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), is paramount, but seems to have been ignored.

37. Throughout the world, it is women who bear the greatest burdens of physical labour, in both their productive and reproductive roles. If women are not freed of any successive burdens they bear, the greatest resource for development will be wasted. How can families be healthy and productive, how can development take place, if half the population, the very centre of family life, suffers severe social and economic discrimination, is overworked, undernourished, illiterate and constantly at risk of unwanted pregnancies? The report does recommend that countries should ratify CEDAW; however, our research has shown that even where the countries have ratified the Convention, much still needs to be done by countries to fulfil their obligations.

38. IPPF strongly feel that the resolution should reflect the development of women as a priority as well as their basic human right to family planning.

3. WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

[20 December 1990]
[Original: French]

39. WFTU has supported and brought to the attention of its members the resolutions and declarations of the United Nations and specialized agencies concerning the economic rights and duties of States, the establishment of a new international economic order and the right to development, as well as the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

40. In our view, the effective implementation of these guidelines and rules, which are essential for economic development and social justice, is being delayed and, in some cases, even challenged, with serious effects on the conditions of life of the majority of the populations of most countries.

41. Some international financial agencies within the United Nations system, such as IMF, the World Bank and GATT, develop programmes or seek trade and financial agreements which have the oppositive effect of accentuating the North-South and emerging East-West structural imbalances and widening the gap between the masses of the poor and the thin dominant strata which are enriching themselves at the majority's expense; they encourage virtually uncontrolled penetration by transnational corporations, to the point where the poor countries, which are sinking further into underdevelopment, are

increasingly becoming net exporters of capital to the most industrialized countries. It is estimated that each dollar invested brings in four! The central and eastern European countries, despite the middle level of development they have achieved, are now threatened with the same fate.

42. While it was useful to pursue further study and deeper understanding of the concept of the right to development as a human right, that study could not be carried out, and cannot be meaningfully continued, without constant reference to the actual conditions experienced by billions of individuals endeavouring to subsist from day to day, at the limits of survival, as the victims of short-sighted structural adjustment policies imposed on their countries either from outside or by the privileged ruling classes from within.

43. Since the adoption of the Declaration on the Right to Development, the number of least developed countries has continued to grow until it now exceeds 40. There is no reason to believe that this trend will be reversed in the medium term, or even in the long term, without a thorough overhaul of present policies. The need for action is urgent!

44. The very concept of the New International Economic Order seems to have vanished as a talking-point or concern of the United Nations and most of the specialized agencies while, with moratoriums and debt consolidation, the burden continues to grow, resulting in unemployment, insecurity, parallel economies, rural exodus and urban poverty, despair among the populations of the shanty towns of third-world megalopolises or industrialized-country ghettos, drug addiction and high crime-rates. Almost 200 million children are subjected to exploitation and condemned to underpaid labour, which prevents them from receiving an education and affects their physical health, thus reducing their life expectancy. Forty thousand children die each day. Tens of millions of individuals die each year from hunger. The most essential right, the right to life, is denied them.

45. These problems are not cyclical. They reflect a marked long-term trend towards reorganization of the world economy and of post-Second World War and post-decolonization relationships between economic and political forces through the transnationalization and increasingly financial orientation of capitalist economics, as well as the use of debt and the control of transfers of technology for political domination and economic exploitation.

46. The resulting inequitable economic relations have been managed and encouraged by the Bretton Woods institutions, the leading industrialized countries and the transnational corporations, or by multilateral negotiations such as those of GATT, the Lomé agreements, etc., and the concept of private financial profitability as the sole investment and distribution criterion has prevailed over the interests of peoples and their right to development.

47. The efforts of UNCTAD, the perseverance and remarkable action of UNICEF, UNESCO and FAO, the regulatory activities of ILO, the action of the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations, as well as the liberation struggles and the campaigns of trade unions, have been unable to reverse or even to counteract sufficiently this unilateral and inegalitarian approach to international economic relations. These efforts, actions and campaigns must therefore be further strengthened and expanded.

48. The serious problems of underdevelopment and poor-development, the internal and external disparities which typify the world economy are part and parcel of the international economic integration organized by the transnational corporations which draw the planet's resources towards the dominant capitalist countries, causing direct harm to the rights of peoples and to the environment and indirect damage as a result of poverty which leads to the export of toxic wastes to impoverished countries and to pressure on the natural environment through the destruction of tropical forests and the acceleration of desertification.

49. The present inegalitarian structure of international economic relations is strengthened by the monetarist policies of IMF, among others, and by the policies of budget cut-backs in areas essential to the well-being of peoples, such as health, education and public services, cut-backs which are imposed on "assisted" countries, with complete disregard for their national independence, their development and the interests of the population.

50. WFTU is also following very closely the developments in the transition of the central and eastern European countries to market-economy systems as, in the present complex international economic situation of crisis and restructuring of the world economy, an uncontrolled transition could well contribute further to mass unemployment, marginalization and social disparities, as already demonstrated by present analyses and the recent experience of workers in those countries, who are the first, and perhaps the only, victims of the worsening economic chaos and social disintegration.

51. But if, in addition, such reforms fail to live up to expectations and hopes of economic development, technological progress and general improvement in the living conditions expected of political pluralism and the demonopolization and debureaucratization of economic management, then the result may well be full-scale economic collapse and political and social crises, with disastrous consequences not only for the populations concerned, but for the world at large.

52. While not underestimating the far worse situation in the poorest and most indebted countries, WFTU is convinced that technical aid and technology transfers are urgently needed to prevent Eastern Europe from becoming an underdevelopment pole and a centre of social and economic crisis, which would add to the existing world imbalances. The implications would be serious, particularly in terms of migrations, brain drain, market shrinkage and development potential, although those countries have a generally well-educated labour force capable of adjusting to technological developments. Leaving those countries to cope with insurmountable difficulties would undermine the most positive aspects of the changes now in progress.

53. Transnational corporations are already establishing themselves in Eastern Europe and making their investments conditional upon the abolition of trade unions and the elimination of basic acquired social rights and human rights embodied in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

54. Clearly, WFTU does not believe that the neo-liberal economic model proposed as a universal alternative by the simplistic ideologies of IMF and the transnational corporations can lead to economic development within a framework of social progress and political democracy. Indeed, that model has already demonstrated its inefficacy in most developing countries, with a few exceptions, where development has been too often achieved through repression of trade unions and exploitation of an underpaid labour force. The ILO standards, which are of crucial importance for workers, are too often ignored, even in highly industrialized countries.

55. A development alternative reconciling the introduction of new technologies with social progress, the well-being of all peoples and the expansion of democracy from the political to the economic field is yet to be constructed and perhaps even conceived of, and one of the main tasks of the trade-union movement is to contribute to devising it. The trade-union movement, democratic, independent and free of any State or company control, should enjoy the internationally recognized rights and freedoms and acquire new ones, particularly with regard to management, enabling it to ensure that workers' needs and aspirations are taken into account, and to promote productive employment and investment and training, which are the basis of development.

56. The essential aim of economic activity should be to respond to the needs of individuals, all individuals, without any distinction whatsoever, and above all to bring about social progress. Illiteracy, poverty, disease and despair could be overcome if the vast resources now available to mankind were brought to bear on these problems. This is not the case today. The over-centralized, bureaucratic model and the capitalist model based solely on the private profit motive have failed to realize the possibilities already afforded to mankind by rapid scientific and technological advances. Any solution to the current crisis will call for new management criteria, the development of democracy and a change in the process of production, making human development the overriding aim of society.

57. The cycle of long-term crisis which started in the early 1970s is the result of capitalist transnationalization of international economic relations which can now extend worldwide and represents the modern form of colonial imperialism and plundering of the planet's resources, including the senseless waste of non-renewable resources, for the exclusive benefit of transnational financial and industrial groups. This entropy and the malfunctions inherent in the system could become more frequent and more acute in the coming period, since the braking effect of the bloc confrontation of the preceding period, which was also an obstacle to development, has now disappeared before new checks and balances, new priorities and alternative development strategies have been devised, or while their introduction is being blocked.

58. The United Nations should make every effort to play a stabilizing and regulating role. It should assume greater responsibility in the search for a new form of coexistence and in devising an alternative to the "uncontrolled" economy, which can only lead to greater social imbalances, disparities and inequities and the creation of a multi-tier world, even within the most industrialized countries. It should be provided with the necessary resources

to implement strategies and programmes which give popular participation an essential role in development and expand democracy and universal respect for human rights, both individual and collective, and for the right of peoples to development.

59. It has not yet been provided with those resources.

60. The adoption of the draft codes of conduct on the activities of transnational corporations or transfers of technology is being blocked by the richest countries, in which such corporations are based. The declaration of tripartite principles on transnational corporations and the social policy of ILO, as well as its procedure for hearing complaints, should be genuinely and effectively implemented, since the first step towards economic competitiveness is through compression of wage costs, the introduction of competition between workers in various countries, pressure on standards, deregulation, reduction of job security and the existence of structural unemployment. The first victims are the poorest populations and the weakest and most underprivileged social groups. The young are deprived of a future.

61. The demand for a social clause in GATT negotiations and the general consideration of social, economic and cultural rights and the physical and psychological needs of workers are ignored in the various negotiations in progress at the international and regional levels, as well as in structural adjustment policies.

62. However, if it is to be realized, the right to development, like any right, must be placed within a political, social and legal framework of transparent and democratic institutions to be responsible for formulation, implementation and monitoring. Nothing of this kind exists at present, and the situation is even more serious today.

63. Uprisings by the hungry, protests against monolithic powers, the breakdown of traditional social structures, which are not replaced by other democratic structures for the social, political, economic and cultural integration of the majority of inhabitants of our planet, the gross and scandalous disparities between rich and poor countries and between rich and poor within those countries, all presage social and political convulsions and crises, with international consequences which, while difficult to gauge, can cause considerable and unjust suffering to many peoples. The demands for democracy being heard on all continents as the rallying-cry of social and political struggles can be put into effect only through sweeping changes in current relationships between production and trade at the national and international levels.

64. The transnational corporations and international financing groups which determine the course of the world economy, are free of all controls. IMF works for them in the name of the United Nations. The national authorities in the least developed and many other countries have no real power comparable to that of the main shareholders and managements of such corporations. Through various States which act as their advocates within the system, they prevent the United Nations from effectively implementing the rights which it proclaims and the treaties ratified by States.

65. Non-governmental organizations, in particular trade unions, have special responsibilities in the various aspects of the realization of the right to development, and the recent World Trade Union Congress in Moscow in November stated as much. The trade-union movement must be able to organize itself in the light of the structure of the transnational corporations; it must be able to exercise additional rights, such as the right to collective bargaining at group level.

66. More than ever, development entails the mobilization and the participation of peoples, and the only way in which the United Nations, which has become increasingly paralysed as far as the actual implementation of this essential right is concerned, can attempt to overcome the formidable obstacles in its way is to demonstrate greater confidence in, and a desire for practical cooperation with, the international non-governmental organizations, particularly those which are most representative of economic, social and cultural forces and are best able to contribute to popular participation and the efforts of peoples to make the transition from victims to decision makers and determine their own fate. We consider it crucial for the most industrialized countries to become more involved in the development efforts of the poorest countries, not to keep them in the position of aid recipients, but to help them to achieve genuine economic take-off so as to satisfy the basic physical, mental and cultural needs of their peoples.

67. Faced with the global challenge of sustainable development, which is just as relevant to the survival of mankind as were the earlier risks of nuclear conflagration, the United Nations system is at present divided in that the aspirations of the majority are not translated into effective concrete policies. At stake is the capacity of the United Nations to respond to the hopes which, with the victory of peoples in 1945, with the decolonization process, to which it made a remarkable contribution by supporting liberation struggles, and with the end of the cold war and the prospect of disarmament and the reallocation of the relevant resources, can now be placed in it and to manage international relations through dialogue and cooperation, in the interest of peoples.

68. These are hopes which we fully share - the building of a world in which human rights and the rights of peoples are respected, development with a human face - and for which we shall strive, come what may.

69. We expect the United Nations to include in the agenda of its General Assembly, as quickly as possible, the overall review of development problems, with a view to promoting, on the basis of the relevant declarations, resolutions and covenants, popular participation and effective and coherent coordination of programmes and activities of organizations within the system concerned with economic and development problems, for the effective realization of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

70. A global challenge calls for responses which take account of all the dimensions of development. It is regrettable that not only has no lasting, significant or encouraging progress been made in recent years, but, even more serious, this same period has been marked by considerable social and economic set-backs and by a worsening of the tragic conditions in which most of mankind struggles to survive. Democracy and peace cannot be built on such a basis.

The young democracies which have emerged on the various continents cannot become stable or strong if the world economic crisis continues to worsen, and the risk that new dictatorships will come into being will remain.

71. Further consultations and even genuine coordination between, on the one hand the United Nations and the organizations within the system and, on the other hand, the popular organizations, trade unions, international non-governmental organizations involved in development, human rights and protection of the environment, independent internationally recognized experts in those various fields and qualified representatives of member States should be encouraged and pursued, as should the principle of tripartite negotiations promoted by ILO in regard to social questions, living and working conditions and structural adjustment.

72. The enriching experience of consultation on the right to development demonstrates that new methods of work and cooperation are possible, and we believe that that should be given serious consideration in the debate on the restructuring of ECOSOC and in the operations of international financial and economic institutions within the system. Similar procedures should be envisaged at the regional level and recommended at the national level.

73. It is also obvious that coordination will be worthwhile only if designed to lead to concrete action, conducted in a participatory and democratic spirit.

ZONTA INTERNATIONAL

[7 November 1990]
[Original: English]

74. As a non-governmental organization committed to improving the status of women, Zonta International has signed many statements at the Commission on Human Rights urging the participation of women in all development efforts. Recognizing the critical role that women play in development, Zonta International has worked with UNIFEM since 1986 to fund women's development projects in 13 developing countries. This joint effort not only includes income-generating projects for women but also funds the development of women's organizations in countries such as Sierra Leone and Honduras, enabling women to work more effectively alongside men for development in their communities.

75. As Phoebe Asiyo, a member of the Zonta Club of Nairobi, Kenya and goodwill ambassador for UNIFEM, argued at the Global Consultation in January, women have played a significant role in the process of development yet remain the most discriminated against in all societies. Improving the human rights of women and thus maximizing their participation in development is integral to the right to development.

76. Zonta supports the recommendation of Ms. Asiyo and other women's non-governmental organizations that a survey concerning the conditions of women should be undertaken in order to ensure the total involvement of women at all levels of the development process.

IV. COMMENTS FROM OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

HENRY DUNANT INSTITUTE

[5 March 1991]
[Original: English]

77. The contents and proposals of the Global Consultation on the Right to Development as a Human Right were long awaited, especially within organizations such as the Red Cross with a long history of humanitarian concerns. It has become clear that the economic underdevelopment of many countries is a major obstacle to the achievement of this right.

78. Ambassador Sene and Mr. Blanca summed up the argument by indicating that only "genuine fraternal international co-operation" and "multilateral co-operation" can facilitate the establishment of an equitable and balanced international society.

79. We believe that United Nations agencies and NGOs can play an effective role in disseminating information and creating models to help the peoples of developing nations to achieve these recommendations.

80. We are aware of the many obstacles to the implementation of this right and realize the enormity of effort that would have to be undertaken to overcome them. Perhaps in the final resolution, there could be an allowance for the type of action that may be undertaken to discourage States from abusing the right of the individual to development. This requires an in-depth study and has been touched upon in paragraph 94 of the report.

81. The activities of the Henry Dunant Institute parallel numerous concerns mentioned in the report. These are the studies and projects concerned with:

(a) The right to development for women - The role of women in the Red Cross and the Red Crescent;

(b) Traditional ways of helping each other (still under study);

(c) A Shade of Green - study on environment.